

Mr. WEBSTER said: Mr. President, on Friday a bill passed the Senate for the raising of ten regiments of new troops for the further prosecution of the war against Mexico, and we have been informed that the measure is shortly to be followed in this branch of the Legislature, by a bill to raise twenty regiments of volunteers for the same service. I was desirous, sir, on Friday, to express my opinion against the object of those bills—against the supposed necessity which leads to their enactment, and against the general policy which they are apparently designed to promote. Circumstances personal to myself, but which I have no opportunity to explain to-day, the day the execution of my duty, compelled me to forego on this day the execution of my duty. The bill now before the Senate is a measure for raising money to meet the expenses of the Government, and to provide the means as well of other things as for the pay and support of these thirty regiments.

Sir, the scenes through which we have passed and are passing here are various. For a fortnight the world appears to have been occupied with the ratification of a treaty of peace and that within these walls—

Sir, we are in possession, by military power, of New Mexico and California, countries belonging hitherto to the United States of Mexico. We are informed by the President that it is his purpose to retain them; to consider them as territories it to be attached, and to be attached, to these United States of America, and the military operations and designs now before the Senate are intended to enforce the claim of the Executive of the United States. We are to compel Mexico to agree that that part of her dominions called New Mexico, and that other part called California, shall be ceded to us. We are now in possession of these territories. It is said, and she is to be compelled to yield this. This is the precise object of this new army of thirty thousand men. It is the identical object, sir, in my judgment, for which the war was originally commenced, for which it has been hitherto prosecuted, and in furtherance of which this treaty is to be used but as one of the means to be employed to reach the grand object, the permanent possession, after all, upon our superior power, and the necessity of submitting to any terms which we prescribe to fallen, fallen Mexico.

Now, Sir, I should be happy to concede, notwithstanding all this coarseness, and all the cry of all the Sempronisms in the land that their voice is still for war—I should be happy to agree, and substantially I do agree, with the honorable member from South Carolina, that, after all, the war with Mexico is substantially over, that there can be no more fighting. My opinion in the present state of things is that the people of this country are not in a position to fight another war, and at the expense. They will not find any gratification in putting the bayonet to the throat of the Mexican people. For my part, I hope the ten regiment bill will never become a law. Three weeks ago I should have entertained that hope with the utmost confidence. Events since have crumpled me with pain and shaken my conviction. Still I hope it will not pass. And I think I can say that I am a great Mexican hater. A man who can stand up here and say that, I think, deserves the Administration projects for the further prosecution of the war against Mexico will not be carried into effect is "an enemy to the country" or, what gentlemen would consider the same thing, an enemy of the President of the United States and his administration and his party. He is a "High and Mighty" Sir, I think you badly misapprehend the character, "High and Mighty" is not a name, but a name does not make a man. I am a sufferer in this respect, if I be made the subject of reproach by these stentorian presses, these hired abusers of the motive of public men, I have the honor on this occasion to be in very respectable company. In the vituperative, the accusative, the denunciatory sense of that term, I do not know a greater Mexican, in this body than the honorable member

Mr. WEBSTER. I mean to say that the gentleman said it was a wise

Mr. WENSTRA. The gentleman said that his principal object was to "frighten" Mexico, and that that would be more humane than to harm Mexico.

On the advice of his comrade, one Nicholas Bottom, he wisely concluded that in the heat and fury of his effort he would show one-half his face and say : " Ladies, fair ladies, I would wish you, or I would request you, or I would entreat you not to be afraid, nor to tremble : my life for yours if you think I come either as a lion it were pity of my life ! No, I am no such thing : I am a man as other men are ; I'm Snugg, the joiner ! "

But General Scott reports, as I understand, that in February there were twenty thousand regular troops under his command, and thirty-five thousand assignments of volunteers—supposedly, if I follow you, to make thirty-four thousand. I included, over a year ago, a figure of thirty-four thousand, but I included over a year and a half ago, and there would be a forty thousand regulars and volunteers amounting to not less than fifty thousand or sixty thousand men, including the recruits on the way. If my information be exact, and the honorable member from Michigan can correct me if he be not—I presume that is correct—is February Gen. Scott had under him in Mexico thirty-four thousand troops, regulars and volunteers. Now, all these troops were regularly officered. There is no deficiency of officers in the regular troops. There is no deficiency of officers in the volunteers. The only deficiency there is consists of men. Now, sir, there is no plausible reason for saying that it is difficult to recruit at once for the supply of deficiencies in the volunteer regiments. I will be said that volunteers choose to enlist under officers of their own selection; that they do not incline to enlist here as individual volunteers, when the regiment is abroad under officers of whom they know nothing. There may be something

to want beyond the thirty thousand regulars and volunteers now in field service. What is the purpose? There is no purpose. The Government has no purpose. There are two classes of men together under arms in any part of Mexico. Except in one instance, perhaps, there is not half that number. Mexico is prostrate—there is no Government to resist its enemies. It is notorious that the Government of Mexico is on our side. It is our instrument, by which we hope to establish our peace and accomplish our policy as we wish. As far as the Government is concerned, the Government has no purpose. Life and breath and being, at this moment, to the support of our arm; and to the hope—I will not say how inspired—let somehow or another, and at no distant period, there may be pecuniary means arising from our three millions, or our twelve millions, or some other of our millions. What do we propose to do, then, with those thirty regiments that we desire to have? We propose to do nothing. We propose to let the Mexicans go. Are we going to plunge the sword deeper and deeper into the vital part of Mexico? What do we propose to do? Sir, I see no object, and yet we are pressed and urged to adopt this proposition in its full length—ten regiments of regulars, and twenty regiments of volunteers! We are to have, and the public is told, that the public believes, that we are to have thirty thousand men, and that we are to look out in the morning for tidings of confirmed peace, or confirmed hopes of peace. He gathers it from the Administration, and every organ of the Administration, from Dan to Greenback; and yet the warlike operations—the incurring of additional expenses—the imposition of new charges upon the treasury, are paid for as if peace was not in all our hearts.

"For I shall suffer be  
Unto the camp, and profits will accrue."

Sir, I hope, without disrespect to those applicants and aspirants, and those patriots, some of them patriots ready to fight, and those other patriots not willing to fight, but willing to be paid—I hope, without disrespect to any of them, according to their rank and merits, that they may be all disappointed. I hope, as the weather grows genial and the season advances, they will, on the whole, find it their interest: to place themselves, one of these mild mornings, in the cars, and take their destination to their respective places of honorable private occupation and civil employment. They may get good wishes, that, biding adieu to the avenue and the Capitol, they may find the President's House, the Congress may reach their homes in good health themselves and find their families all very happy to receive them.

because there the present proposition takes its locality. I would say the same of the western, the northern, the eastern, the southern, or any other boundary. I would resist to-day, and to the end, here and everywhere, any proposition to add any foreign territory, on the south or west, north or east, to the States of this Union, as they are now constituted and held together under the present constitution. I do not want the colonies of England on the north; I as little desire the Mexican population on the south. I resist and reject all, and all with equal resolution.

I have said, that I would rather have no peace for the present than to have a peace that brings territories to new States; and the reason is that I believe we can get a peace just as soon, and without territory as with it—a peace more safe, more lasting, and more profitable to the people of the United States. I would rather have no peace at all, than a peace that brings western territory. I hear gentlemen say that we must have some territory, that the people demand it. I deny it; at least, I say I see no proof of it whatever. I do not doubt that there are individuals here and there of an enterprising character disposed to emigrate, who know nothing about New Mexico, but that is far off; and nobody of California, but that it is still further off; who are tired of the dull pursuits of agriculture and civil life. I dare say that there are hundreds and thousands of such persons, who wish to go to California, or to seek their fortunes. Whatever is new is attractive to such minds; they feel the spirit of a borderer, and that is, to take it, to be pretty tolerably content with his condition till somebody passes beyond him; and then his disposition to take up his "traps" and pass beyond him who has passed himself, and sit down further off, is an irresistible passion. At least so

Sir, I hold this question to be vital, permanent, elementary,  
 in the future prosperity of this country and the maintenance  
 of the constitution, and I am willing to trust that question to  
 the people. I prefer that it should be submitted to them, be-  
 cause I believe that the people are the best judges of the prin-  
 ciple essentially important to the maintenance of the con-  
 stitution, be broken down, let it be the act of themselves. It  
 shall never be my act. I therefore do not distrust the people.  
 I am willing to take their sentiment on this issue, from the  
 South to the British Provinces, and from the ocean to the Mis-  
 sissippi. I am willing to ask them, will you continue this war  
 over territory which you have purchased for a small sum of  
 money, price, a thousand times the value of all that purchased—  
 will you take peace, contenting yourselves with the honor  
 of the country has reaped by the military achievements of  
 its armies? Will you take peace without territory and pre-  
 serve the integrity of the constitution and the Union? I am  
 willing to ask them, for the answer.  
 I am willing, Sir, to take this issue: a peace without new  
 States, keeping our money to ourselves, or war till these new  
 States shall be acquired? That's the question; it is a ques-  
 tion for the people themselves. If they support me and those  
 who think with me in the view I take of the matter, very well.  
 If they will have territory, if they will add new States to this  
 Union, I will support them, and I will say they will be the architects  
 of their own fortunes, good or evil.

"Turn on their goal when he sets  
The same lock which they turned when he goes!"

Now, sir, if the respectable gentleman, who is now at the head of the Government should be agreed upon, there will be those who will commend his consistency, and be bound to maintain it and the integrity of the party. His friends will require that this should be done. If otherwise, who is there in the whole length and breadth of the land who will care for the consistency of the Government? The friends of office will wish there to be new objects. Manifest destiny will have fixed upon some other man, sir; the eulogies are now written; the commendations of the press are already elaborated; I will not say every thing fulsome, but I will say every thing panegyric is already written out with blanks for names, to be filled when the convention shall adjourn. When manifest destiny shall be reached, then, sir, all the strains of panegyric made be the strains of the *March of the Republic*, framed, embellished, and embossed, will all come out, and, as I have said, there is to be, somebody in the United States, possibly whose merits have heretofore been strangely overlooked—marked by Providence—a kind of miracle—it is a wonder that nobody thought of him before: a fit man, and the only fit man to be at the head of this great republic. I shrink not, therefore, from saying that I will be my duty, by any appropriate action of power, and importance, to support this Government and the power of which it is invested to the utmost advantage of that office. I wish I had that power of will. I wish I had that firmness—firmness—firmness, *Sic ut numerus nullum aluit*. If we had adherence? I wish we could gather something from the spirit of our brave cars that have met the enemy under circumstances most adverse, and have stood the shock of the *Charge of the Heavy Cavalry* Taylor in his battle upon the field of Buena Vista. I wish I could be a man for the night; he would feel the enemy in the morning and try his position. I wish before we surrender that we could make up our own minds to feel the enemy and, try his position

judgment.

For a few years I held a position in the Executive department of the Government. I left the Department of State in 1843. In May. Within a month after another meeting of the North and respectable gentlemen who came to a very united end—had taken my place, I had occasion to know, not officially, but from circumstances, that the annexation of Texas to the United States was taken up by Mr. Tyler's Administration as an administration measure, pushed, pressed, insisted on, and I believe that the honorable gentleman to whom I allude, Mr. Upshur, had some memory [entertain much respect for Mr. Upshur] had something to say in relation to the accomplishment of this purpose. And I am afraid that the President of the United States at that time suffered his ardent feelings not a little to control his more prudent judgment. Any rate, I say in 1843 that annexation had become a purpose. I was not in Congress, nor in public life, but seeing this state of things I thought it my duty to admonish, as best I could, the country of the existence of this purpose. These are gentlemen, I thought, who are not likely to be carried away by a capital, who know that in the summer of 1843, being fully persuaded that this purpose of annexing Texas had been taken up with zeal and determination by the Executive Government of the United States, I thought it my duty, and asked their concurrence in an attempt to let this purpose be known to the country. I conferred with gentlemen of distinction and influence; I proposed some means of exciting public attention to this purpose, and I thought that I had secured a very important question; for I had learned that when a matter becomes a party matter, it is in vain to argue against it or argue upon it. But the optimists, the quietists then, who said all things are well and let all things alone, discouraged, disencouraged, repressed, any such effort. They said the North would take care of itself, the country would take care of itself; that they would not sustain Tyler's project of annexation; or when they did, they would do so in a way that would not get the House of Representatives, would be sufficient to reject the measure. And I could now refer to paragraphs and articles in the most respectable journals at the North, in which the attempt was made to produce an impression that there was no danger that we should have an addition of new States; that we need not alarm ourselves about it. I was not in Congress when the resolution providing for the annexation of Texas was passed, and I am sure that I have not a very short period before the passage of that resolution the greatest number of us, in the country where I belonged, that no such resolution could pass. But I have found, sir, in the course of thirty years' experience, that whatever measure the Executive Government embraces and pushes is quite likely to succeed. There is a giving way somewhere. If the Executive Government acts with uniformity, steadiness, entire unity of purpose, some of the most powerful influences, according to my construction of history, tend to effect its purpose.

But there is another source of general importance even than that: more general, because affects all the States, free and slaveholding; and it is that, States formed out of territories thus thinly populated, coming into the Union, they necessarily, inevitably break up the relation existing between the two branches of the Government and destroy its balance. They break up the intended relation between the House of Representatives and the Senate, by bringing in new States, whose State that: could not must have two Senators. She may come in with fifty or sixty thousand people and more. You may have from a particular State thousand Senators than you have Representatives. Can any thing so gross to disgrace and derange the form of Government and which we live more signally than that? Here would be a Senate bearing no proportion to the people, out of all relation to the House of Representatives, and the Government would be one Representative, perhaps, and two Senators; whereas the larger States may have ten, fifteen, or even thirty representatives, and but two Senators. The Senate, added to, augmented by these new Senators coming from States where there are few people, becomes an odious oligarchy. It holds power without any adequate constituency. Sir, it is but "borough-mongering" upon a large scale. Now, I do not depend upon the fact that we were where we made our departure three years ago and where we now are; and I leave it to the imagination conjecture where we shall be.

five millions of people; and that is what we call an equal representation! Is not this enormous? Have gentlemen considered this? Have they looked at it? Are they willing to look it in the face and then say they embrace it? I trust God the people will look at it and consider it. And now, gentlemen, I leave this proposition to you. I do not know what must remain; but I think you are going to diminish it. Why, here is Texas, with a hundred and forty-nine thousand people, with our State. Suppose that population should be taken into Texas, where would it go? Not to any dense point, but be spread over all that region, in places remote from the Gulf, in places remote from what is now the capital of Texas; and I think you will find that the people of Texas will be able to handle enough, within our common construction of the constitution and our practice in respect to the admission of States. My honorable friend from Texas will have a new State, and we have no doubt he has chalked it out already. Well, then, to New Mexico, there can be no more people there. And an ignorant, stupid, who has looked at the map of New Mexico, and has seen that it is a vast country, will say there can be any more people there, than there is now; now, sixty

popular representative government and upon the elements of the constitution under which we live and which we have inherited from our fathers. I am not afraid of this from this enormity? Why, it is that we stipulate only for these new States shall be brought in at a suitable time. Now what is to constitute the suitability of time? Who is to judge of it? I tell you, sir, that the suitable time will be whenever the preponderance of party power here makes it expedient to bring in new States; the suitable time will depend on the State of our affairs, and not upon the time of the States of Texas elsewhere. Be assured, sir, there will be a suitable time whenever strength, or party power, or votes are wanted in this Senate. We have some little experience of the Texas cause in its suitable time. Very suitable! Texas was finally admitted in December, 1846. My friend near me here says that I have been in the Senate since I have been in the country since I have cultivated with much pleasure, took his seat here with his colleagues, in March, 1845. In July, 1846, the two Texas votes turned the balance in the Senate and overthrew the tariff of 1842, in my judgment the best system of revenue that has ever established in this country. They think of different opinions think otherwise. They think it fortunate that they have not been in the Senate a suitable time; and they will take care that New Mexican votes shall come in in suitable time also. I understand it perfectly well. It is a difference of opinion between myself and them. To tell policy, to their object, to their purposes, the time was suitable and the aid was efficient and decisive. Sir, in 1850 before the war, the aid was against the tariff. It was not likely to be before—but agitated that will be then, and will be in the course of the administration of the Government to place; and, according to my apprehension, looking to general results as flowing from our established system of commerce and revenue in 1850, two years from this time, we may probably be engaged in a new revision of our system: in the war of 1850, we have been engaged in a new revision of our work of protecting, if we can, the domestic industry of our country, and in the work of preventing to some extent, if we can, the overwhelming flood of impostations. Suppose that we be the case, and suppose that our opponents require a strong strength, that will be exactly the suitable time for our

move these gentlemen? Not at all. Every of them voted accordingly. The election came round a few months afterwards, and they were all turned out; but what did those of them for that who had the benefit of their votes? Such agree or it is for proper to call them instrumentalities, maintain spirit longer than they continue to be useful.

Sir, we have New Mexico and California. Who is enough to think that these are good? And Why, do we not it avowed every day that it is proper for us also to take So-ra and Tamaulipas, and other provinces or States of north Mexico? Who thinks that the hunger for dominion stop here of itself? Somebody has said that this acquisition is so mean and lean and unsatisfactory that we shall seek further.

In my judgment, sir, you may believe that, if we can be so happy as to acquire California, we can be productive foray worthy for the better. But, further, there are some things that we can argue against with temper, submit to, if overruled, without mortification. There are other things that seem to affect one's consciousness of being a reasonable man, and evince a disposition to impose up his common sense. And of this class of topics or pretenses I have never heard of any thing, and cannot conceive of any thing more than in itself, and that is the most offensive to all sober judgment, the cry that we are getting democracy. Indemnity by the acquisition of New Mexico or California! I hold them not to be worth a dollar, and pay for them a vast sum of money. We have expended, every body knows, large treasures in the prosecution of war, and now what is there to constitute indemnity? What is there to be paid for? Let us see what is the first instance by which we acknowledge a boundary—I care which way you state it—the country between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. What this country is appears from a publication of an honorable gentleman in the other House, which he quotes an account given by Major Gaines. He

Now of New Mexico. Of that, forty-nine fiftieths is a mere barren waste of desert plain or mountain. To no wood, no timber—little grass to light a fire carried on the back of a man. There is no natural fall of rain in temperate climates. The mountains are everywhere enormously high mountains, running up some to the ten thousand feet, with very narrow valleys at their through which streams sometimes trickle along a garter, and then descend to the level of the sea. The Rio Grande, after the Rocky Mountains down, runs the Rio Grande, thirty-three degrees, some three or four hundred miles. These sixty thousand persons are. In the mountains, or right at the left, are streams whose natural tendencies are to descend to the level of the sea. The Rio Grande, in fact, is a stream that, when the rains come, descends to the mountains, some of them actually reach the Rio Grande but the greater part of them, and all of them, are of the greater part of the year, never reach an outlet to the sea. As described in the study and desert plains of the country, the Rio Grande is a stream that, when the rains come, is fed by artificial watering or irrigation. You can have this narrow valley of the Rio Grande, in the course of the mountains, where the streams are; but you cannot find down along the course of those streams that lose them-

Mr. WHEELER. I take what I say in regard to the value of the Rio Grande from the statement of Major General A. C. GORDON, who is a resident of the Rio Grande valley. He is a civilized man. I am glad to hear, also, that there are no inhabitants of New Mexico who are not so beset with their miserable conditions as not to make some effort to get out of the country.

Sir, I would, if I had time, call the attention of the Senate to a very instructive speech that was made in the other House by Mr. SMITH, of Connecticut. He seems to have exhausted all our authorities, conversed with all our travellers, and responded with all our agents. His speech contains all the communications, and I commend it to every man in the Senate. I do not know what we are about to accomplish by the acquisition of New Mexico. It is to be isolated—a place by itself—in the middle of the mountainous five hundred miles, I believe, from Texas.

Mr. RUSK. Five hundred miles from the settled portion

"The people are on a par with their land. One in two died or five hundred is rich and lives like a nabob; the rest peons, or servants sold for debt, who work for their masters as are subservient as the slaves of the South, and look like dians; and, indeed, are not more capable of self-government. One man, Jacobus Sanchez, owns three-fourths of all the cotton which has passed over in Mexico. We are told we see the best part of Northern Mexico; if so, the whole is not worth much."

It is remarkable that, although existing from the earliest times, the people of the Mexican Republic, a large territory, in a state of continual hostility to the numerous tribes of Indians who surrounded their period, and constant insecurity of life and property from their attacks, have managed to remove from the enervating influences of luxury and in their isolation to develop and improve their own resources, the inhabitants are totally quiescent those qualities which, for the above reasons, we might naturally have expected to distinguish them, and are as deficient in the moral and intellectual qualities. In their social state, but degree removed from the vilest savages, they might take some even from these in morality and the conventional dogmas of religion, but in the moral and intellectual qualities, less and universal coexistence exists, and a total disregard moral laws, to which it would be impossible to find a parallel in any country calling itself civilized. A want of honor, of respectability, of propriety, of delicacy, of modesty, to realize all their desires. Liars by nature, they are treacherous and faithless to their friends, cowardly and gringing to their enemies; cruel, as all savages are, they unite savage ferocity with the cunning of an animal. Both the other Americans have been given—of a kind of human nature."